



The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare

Volume 13
Issue 4 *December*

Article 9

December 1986

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Recommended Citation

Latimore, James (1986) "A Perspective on Differential Services in Counseling: Altruism and Likeness," *The Journal of Sociology & Social Welfare*: Vol. 13 : Iss. 4 , Article 9.

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A PERSPECTIVE ON DIFFERENTIAL SERVICES IN COUNSELING: ALTRUISM AND LIKENESS

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ABSTRACT

In this exploratory study using a small sample, an attempt is made to understand the differential services provided by vocational counselors in a non-profit agency, a setting in which a strong identification with clients is encouraged. The services are measured and the unequal measures of service are related to the degree to which the client is seen as an image of the counselor in certain respects. Counseling is viewed as an altruistic occupation and the differential services are analyzed in this context. In general, it is suggested that the differential counseling and psycho-therapeutic services noted by other writers all reflect a kind of likeness between counselor-therapist and client-patient, that the relationship is somewhat narcissistic, and that while the kinds of likeness observed may be quite varied, they can be classified as reflecting biological, psychological, and social factors.

The Setting and the Problem

This study was carried out in a voluntary job counseling and placement agency -- the Youth employment Agency (YEA) -- located in a large city in the eastern part of the United States. At the time the research was concluded, the agency employed 42 people. Twelve

of these were counselors. The remainder of the staff was composed of administrators, aides, clerks and various specialists such as remedial-education teachers and "post-placement monitors" who kept track of the client's progress after job placement and dealt with any problems on the job. The clientele of the agency was a young (16-19) largely minority-group population made up mostly of dropouts, drug abusers and correctional cases. The principal methods used in the research were interviews (of staff and clients), observations of the counselors in session with clients, and agency records including case files. The research took place over a three-year period.

The problem of interest was the differential services provided clients: some clients were observed earlier to get more service or better service than others.

The Literature

The problem of differential services to patients of mental health professions has been explored by a number of writers. Keith-Spiegel and Spiegel (1967) found a positive relationship between the patients' education and intelligence and perceptions of the psychiatrist as helpful or not. Dumont (1968) concluded that psychotherapy, as generally practiced, "requires a patient who is verbal, insightful, and motivated, one who can delay gratification, and who more or less, shares the values of the therapist, thereby virtually excluding the lower-class person from treatment." Stoler (1963) had earlier observed that the likeability of the patient was associated with successful treatment. Carkhuff and Pierce (1967) have suggested that the patient's race and social class are important variables in successful treatment: when they coincided with the therapist's race and social class, there was a "greater depth of self-

exploration" by the patient, an indicator of effective treatment process. Whether an individual is even accepted for psychotherapy was found by Rosenthal and Frank (1958) to be related to such variables as the person's age, race, education, and income.

Garfield (1971) reviewed the research in this area and summarized it as follows:

"Lower-class, relatively non-verbal, and more severely disturbed clients are not well received by many therapists, and many clinics appear to reject the applications of such individuals for treatment. In contrast, verbal, intelligent, introspective, interested, and educated clients with relatively little disturbance are eagerly sought after by therapists."

In professions such as psychotherapy, guided by a strong ethical orientation, differential services are seen as a problem that must be dealt with, so that practice is more consistent with ethical and societal ideals. A particularistic or personal reaction to the client's characteristics is irrational, emphatically discouraged, and must be controlled. Garfield (1971) for example, argued:

"The more traditional model of long-term psychotherapy is clearly not a suitable nor realistic model for the great majority of our population and more efficient approaches or modifications must be sought... It seems decidedly unfair and socially inequitable to favor one small segment of the population and to ignore the rest because the former appear to accommodate more readily to our technique and our expectations."

Weiner (1975) cautions that the therapist

should be aware of his/her "real reactions" to the patient's characteristics or behavior so as to prevent the reactions from "diluting his commitment to the working alliance" with the patient.

"Whenever real reactions threaten to impair therapist effectiveness, or for example when the therapist finds it difficult to like or respect his patient as a person, serious consideration should be given to transferring the patient to another therapist."

Real reactions are not the same as counter-transference, defined as "inappropriate or irrational reactions" to the patient's behavior. A therapist "may realistically be annoyed at having ashes dropped on his floor; if he becomes furious, he is probably experiencing a counter-transference reaction."

Eberly, Eberly, and Wright (1981) found that rehabilitation counselors had a distinct preference for working with nonhandicapped clients.

"The results are interpreted as supporting the contention that ambivalence toward physically handicapped people extends beyond the social milieu and perhaps affects the vocational rehabilitation process."

Allen, Peterson, and Keating (1982) compared the attitudes of mental health and rehabilitation counselors toward alcoholics, homosexuals, public offenders, the mentally ill or retarded, and clients who were physically disabled. Although the effect on services was not analyzed, they reported that "attitudes toward the alcoholic were significantly lower than those toward each of the other groups," with implications for service

differentials.

Dailey's (1983) study of sex-role congruence between social workers and clients was influential in explaining the practitioner's preference for working with certain clients. Androgynous clients (those in which "the psychological traits characteristic of both sexes" were combined) were judged to be more emotionally mature and more intelligent. The social workers studied were "more enthusiastic" about having them as clients and had "significantly more positive" attitudes toward them; androgynous social workers were "more positive toward androgynous clients" than towards other clients. In general, the androgynous clients "were judged to have a significantly more favorable prognosis in treatment than either masculine or feminine clients."

Physicians also respond in a differential way to certain patients. Papper (1970) a physician himself, has described the undesirable patient as follows:

"--..the physically dirty patient is undesirable, and any other lofty qualities he may have will have little opportunity to penetrate the barrier established by the physician. The uneducated...may be patronized and denigrated by the physician...even when the physician has genuine concern for the economically disadvantaged he may, because of his own background, unwittingly regard the extremely poor as 'different', with a flavor of 'inferiority' included in the difference. We shall not mention further the generally recognized biases that can lead to a patient's undesirability - race, religion, region or country of origin."

The remedy, in Papper's view, is not to identify with the patient, but to develop "a sense of self-discipline that minimizes the numbers of patients who become undesirable."

However, in some counseling occupations, such as vocational counseling, it appears that a personal relationship -- even an identification with clients is more encouraged. Counselors are recruited from the same social strata as the clients, or they are in some sense "dedicated" to the clients and their welfare. Counselors and client are allied in a cause.

In this setting, differential service takes on a new meaning: it runs counter to the emphasis placed on identifying with clients and their "cause." It was this relationship with clients, rather than any professional orientation that gave direction to the work of the agency's counselors. In fact, there was virtually no professional orientation among YEA's counselors, when we assessed their professionalism using as criteria holding an appropriate advanced degree, membership in professional associations, use of professional journals, and familiarity with the contents of existing codes of ethics in the field of vocational counseling.

The service differential of interest here is not the exclusion of clients nor the outcome of the interaction between counselor and client. Exclusion of clients from service was indeed found at YEA in the form of weeding out certain hard-to-place clients. However, this appeared to be more related to new funding sources and contract requirements in the agency than to the counselor's reaction to client characteristics. This aspect of the research is described in an earlier (1979) article by the author. Rather, the quality of the relationship itself, and a quantitative measure of

it (time in session with clients) are of primary interest. And because the client-counselor relationship was an object of study, we were interested in obtaining some insight into the nature of that relationship.

The relationship itself was conceived of as an altruistic one. Halmos (1970) has argued that "love is expressed in all counseling" and that it is the most potent resource at the counselor's command, carrying "more therapeutic weight" than the counselor's theory and professional technology. Even when this involves playing a role, the "enactment of a role changes the personality of the role-player," and results in a "rare and impressive accumulation of a sympathetic and caring attitude towards others." Halmos, however, rejects professional role-playing as an explanation of concerned behavior: it is essentially a rationalization, a manifestation of misplaced professionalism, concealing "the aspiration to be the kind of person defined by the role."

He continues:

..The alibi of the worker, that he is only making himself instrumental to success by assuming a parental role, playing the role as an actor would, becomes suspect when the literature explicitly demands that the worker should enter into communion with the patient, that there should be empathy between worker and patient and that the worker should love the patient."

But which ones? The research at YEA suggests that there is some observable discrimination among possible beneficiaries i.e., clients.

To Sorokin (1954), love was the force behind altruistic behavior. He was oblivious

to the discrimination among objects but suggested that altruism was itself comprised of a number of variables which act as constraints on each other. Altruistic love can vary according to: (1) its intensity, (2) its extensity, (3) its duration, (4) its purity, and (5) the adequacy of its objective manifestation in relation to its subjective purpose. These factors interact. For example, the greater the extensity (number of objects loved), the lower the intensity or duration of love.

The extensity of love is a measure of how many one loves, ranging "from the zero point of love of oneself only, up to the love of all mankind, all living creatures, and the whole universe." In between these extremes "lies a vast scale of extensities: love of one's own family, of a few friends, or love of all the groups one belongs to -- one's clan, tribe, nationality, religious, occupational, political, and other groups and associations."

Socio-biologists offer an interesting explanation of altruistic behavior directed towards one's own kind. Barash (1977) for example, asserts that altruism is explained by the genetic closeness (or likeness) between the altruist and the beneficiary, with the beneficiary devalued in proportion as that relationship is genetically more distant." This principle is used to explain, for example, why bird "sentries" alert the flock to the presence of predators when, in so doing, they expose themselves and run the risk of self-sacrifice. In the study of YEA's counselors, however, we were at times dealing with altruism involving pronounced genetic differences, if we accept race as representing a genetic difference. That is, White and Puerto Rican counselors might have as intense concern for Black clients as Black counselors did. Thus, genetic likeness did not seem to cover all cases of intense empathic relationships.

Altruism, as viewed by Barash and others who accept the group-selection hypothesis, is both a bonding and a divisive force, reflecting in-group (species) bonding and inter-group divisions. In human relationships, however, altruism may have spiritual, moral, and experiential aspects, increasing the potential range of its bonding effect in some directions and diminishing it in others.

Other researchers, working in the social psychology of altruism, have focused on the developmental processes involved in the socialization of altruistic character. Here also, however, altruistic character is manifested in a more or less indiscriminating way. Aronfreed (1970), for example, has emphasized two preconditions for the emergence of altruistic behavior: a "capacity for empathic experience" and "establishment of the instrumental value of overt acts." Berkowitz (1970) and others draw our attention to the rewards involved in altruistic behavior: the approval of others is one motivating reward, but more consistently, action that is consistent with a certain self-image brings its own reward. Freedman (1970) utilizes the concept of character also, but with a twist: experimental subjects who transgressed moral codes (i.e., deviated from their usual character) by cheating, hurting someone or destroying their work were more likely to engage in helping behavior when requested even if it would not benefit the injured party. The reward involved in this compensatory behavior was relief from guilt. Rawlings (1970) has suggested that whether altruistic behavior is evoked by some internalized moral standard (anticipatory guilt) rather than by a desire to compensate others for harm done to them (reactive guilt) is influenced by parental punishment techniques. In all these studies, altruism is seen as something of a duty, of rather uniform intensity, arising from character. Rosehan's (1970) work also treats altruism as being

expressive of character, with character being shaped by parental socialization, and duty (more than desire) describes the motivation involved. Rosehan introduces a new dimension however: the degree or intensity of commitment of the altruists studied (civil rights workers) varied; some were "fully committed" while others were only "partially committed" to the cause of the beneficiaries. Moreover, by implication at least, there is some suggestion of discrimination among possible beneficiaries of altruistic acts: blacks are one but only one category of beneficiaries, and in this case they are preferred.

Yarrow and Zahn-Waxler (1977) used response to distress as an indicator of altruism. Their work with young children is seen as supporting Hoffman's (1975) hypothesis that altruism is based on a primitive involuntary feeling of distress in the presence of others' distress, one that appears to be inborn. Yarrow and Zahn-Waxler suggest that this response is given direction through parental socialization, although repression of the response is said to be the more usual outcome of socialization since parents believe altruistic behavior will not be helpful to their children in life. The model lacks an adequate "intensity" dimension, however; there is no allowance for the varying degree of commitment or concern observed in reality. This could be explained in part by parental socialization, but that would leave out any subsequent experiential factors. All the important events occur at about the age of 18 months, the "critical period." Then, too, altruism is seen by these researchers as a general character trait with no discrimination among possible beneficiaries: any distress situation involving any objects will evoke helping behavior (one of the same intensity, from one situation to the next).

Lerner's (1970) work adds another element

that increases our understanding of altruism: experiential factors, other than the parental relationship, may promote empathy. People tend to identify with and respond to victims of injustice when they have themselves been victims before.

"People are most likely to help someone who has been unjustly deprived and least likely to exert themselves for someone who already has more than he deserves. The underlying motivation seems to be a desire to arrange matters so that people have just what they deserve. Of most importance theoretically, was the finding that the experience of having been unjustly deprived themselves leads to even greater efforts on behalf of someone who has been treated in a similarly unfair fashion."

Lerner's findings imply that the altruist exercises some discrimination in the universe of possible beneficiaries: only those who have "been treated in a similarly unfair fashion" trigger empathic and helping responses.

The Methods and the Findings

There are three principal questions to be considered here:

- (1) Were YEA's counselors in general "altruistic," and what variations were observed?
- (2) What was the quantitative dimension of differential service observed, and how was this related to "likeness"?
- (3) What was the underlying qualitative, affective, relational dimension of the problem, and how was this related to "likeness"?

The answer to the first question draws on data from counselor interviews. These interviews were structured and standardized for a given time during the course of the study, although the questions themselves changed in some cases as the findings became fairly clear and new questions presented themselves. Observations of the counselors at work and interview data are used to address the second question, while the interviews of counselors provide material for dealing with the last one.

Altruism of the Counselors

The first task was to attempt to measure the level of altruism of the counselors relative to each other and to see if in general the counselors met some reasonable criteria of altruism.

Altruism is behavior that serves the welfare of others at some cost to oneself. The costs may be relative as well as absolute. The beneficiary of an altruistic act is, in the view of the altruist, in a lamentable situation. The enlargement of the modern welfare state can be said to have reduced the number and extent of lamentable situations in materialistic ways, however short of perfection the welfare state may be. At the same time, social welfare programs have created new occupations that afford to some the opportunity to be paid for helping others in distress. These occupations may be considered altruistic in the sense that the practitioners frequently enter the occupations because of a desire to help others, and they incur some sacrifices in taking on the cares and woes of clients, and in relative income and career security. Vocational counselors are one example of this type of occupation.

The altruism of the counselors was assessed by means of interviews. The interviews

attempted to measure (1) the counselors' attachment to their work by asking if progressively higher salary increases would induce them to accept jobs in private industry; (2) whether the counselor used expressions of client gratitude (written or oral) in an instrumental way by communicating them to supervisors or not; and (3) the worth of the client "as is," versus the client's need for improvement in order to be a worthy object of affection. It should be pointed out that not all counselors were asked this particular set of questions. Because of the duration of the study, the counseling staff changed over time. Later counselors were interviewed on other subjects (as were the holdovers) since, by then, the findings obtained here seemed clear (and not puzzling).

Salaries as Work Incentive

The interviews suggest that money was not the overriding goal of the counselors. Although they were concerned about money and complained about being underpaid, yet when questioned as to whether they would accept a job in private industry paying more money, most counselors expressed a great reluctance, even though they were questioned about a salary increase of up to \$4,000 a year. When the hypothetical increase was greater than \$4,000, most began to waver; but all indicated a strong preference for a similar job.

Of the counselors on staff at the time this question was used, their responses to the money question may be summarized as below.

TABLE 1
ACCEPTANCE OF A JOB IN PRIVATE INDUSTRY
WHEN ANNUAL SALARY INCREASE AMOUNTED TO:

COUNSELOR	\$500	\$1000	\$2000	\$4000
A	NO	NO	NO	NO
B	PROBABLY	YES		
C	NO	NO	NO	"TEMPTED"
D	NO	NO	NO	NO
E	NO	NO	NO	"PROBABLY"

Thus only one would be tempted by a \$500 increase, and two more would be tempted by a \$4,000 increase. All felt that the kind of job offered would be an important factor in their decision.

The Response to Client's Gratitude

When asked how he would go about letting his supervisor know about thanks received from a client, Counselor A said he would "just let the supervisor judge me by how I produced." Then he added that "If I was working with the type of supervisor who needs this, I would have to find some way to let him know. Some way or another you have to let him know. It's good politics. He should know if he is a supervisor."

Other counselors were less "political" in their valuation of the client's expression of thanks. When asked the same question, Counselor D said: "I get that a lot. But I never say much about it unless it comes in a letter, which we might be able to use for fund raising. I don't go out of the way, though. I just don't feel it's necessary to mention it otherwise." The counselor felt that a call

from a client thanking him was "elevation enough - it's just a personal thing."

Counselor C said that she would record the information in the client's folder. She cited two instances of this sort. "I shared them with my supervisor," she added.

Counselor E responded to the same question by saying that he would bring the praise or thanks to the attention of the referring counselor, but not to his supervisor. His supervisor had put him down in the past. "I've gotten hundreds of those letters of thanks," he said, but refused for personal reasons to show them to his supervisor.

This question, though not conclusive, allows us to test in a simple (and admittedly inadequate) fashion the proposition that altruistic acts are their own reward. Assuming that the client's expression of praise or gratitude are unsolicited, we can consider what the counselors do with such unsolicited rewards. Is it sufficient and gratifying in itself? It appeared that in about half the cases it was not. Only two counselors of the five counselors on staff and interviewed at that stage of research indicated that the reward was sufficient and meaningful in itself. The other three show varying degrees of using the praise to (presumably) further their own interests.

Accepting the Client "As Is"

Within the framework of altruism, we can see what appears to be two different aims. One aim, reflected in the work of most counselors, was to transform the object of altruism, to make it better and more acceptable. This aim may underlie much of philanthropy. The other aim was to accept the object as is and to bestow one's concern or love on it. In the

YEA study only one counselor appeared to accept the client as he was.

"I had one kid, he was making out all right on the street--he ran into his parole officer. The parole officer said, 'What are you doing these days?' The kid said 'Nothing.' He was happy. They (parole officer) sent him right here (to YEA). And the kid was hurt. I could never send him out to a job. He would never go. But he made the rounds."

When asked how he dealt with such clients, he replied:

"I tell him, 'If you don't want to work, and you just want to come here and fool your parole officer--fine! Come in and fool him! Let him (parole officer) come up with his own conclusions'."

Several similar stories were reported by this counselor. In part, this may have reflected a technique for transforming the client: letting him learn by experience. However, the overall observations led to the conclusion that he was not as insistent upon the client's transformation as a condition of a loving relationship as other counselors were, even though the pressures of the job made placements of clients an important goal.

To summarize, it appeared that all the counselors on staff at that time were minimally altruistic, as measured by the salary question; about half were moderately altruistic, based on responses to both the salary question and the use-of-gratitude item; and at least one was highly altruistic when responses to all these items were used.

The Quantitative Dimension of Service

The agency had no time-in-session standard comparable to the therapist's fifty-minute hour. Although counselors were under pressure to see as many clients as possible they were not told how much time they should spend with each client. For this reason, the time spent with clients can be used as a crude measure of some variable, rather than reflecting a norm.

The variable proposed here is the degree of likeness existing between counselor and client, as perceived by the counselor (who controls the time in session). When increased, likeness should result in a greater desire to help, it was thought, and this would be reflected in more time being spent with the client.

There is, of course, an alternative explanation for length of the sessions: the problem(s) presented. Some clients are more communicative than others; some are more job ready than others, and so forth. No attempt was made to evaluate this, in part because it was not clear at the time what would constitute a "difficult case" for each counselor. Moreover, in reviewing the cases, there appeared to be no pronounced and consistent relationship between difficulty and time spent, and in the two cases presented below, both appear to be "difficult," yet the time spent on each case varied significantly.

Ten counseling sessions were observed. This was done by sitting in a corner of the counselor's office behind the client and sideways to the counselor. This was intended to minimize the sense of presence to clients and to reduce the chance of eye contact with the counselor. The verbal content of the sessions was thus emphasized (and notes for a running account of the session were written at the time), yet the arrangement also allowed for periodic visual observations. Among other things, the length of each session was timed.

Given the time constraints, no attempt was made to observe all counselors. Instead it was decided to sample the counseling staff by selecting for sex and ethnic group. For the counselors observed, the average time for a session was 23 minutes. The sessions ranged from 12-45 minutes in length. From these observations the short and the long sessions, involving two different counselors, were selected for analysis. For analytical purposes, these were selected because they were extremely short or extremely long. It would have been preferable to analyze a short and a long session for each counselor. However, the observations did not result in such a package--i.e., each counselor did not oblige by providing a short and a long session. Thus, the observations of two different counselors are used here. Both, however, were ranked as moderate-to-high on level of altruism (see the indicators discussed earlier), their similarity in this respect suggesting that the general level of altruism toward the clientele did not account for the length of the session.

Then, the biographies of the clients and the counselors in each case were compared to see whether the client did or did not resemble the counselor in certain ways. The biographies of the counselors had been compiled previously and certain factors judged to be important in the counselor's experience and/or self-image were identified. Following the observations, then, the biographies of the clients, gained from case records and information disclosed during the observations were searched for similar elements.

It appears that there were few points of likeness between counselor and client in the short session, while in the long session, the counselor would likely have seen a number of similarities between himself and the client. A summary of each of these sessions follows:

The Short Session

The counselor's biography included the following items: the counselor was a Puerto Rican male. When he was an adolescent, his mother was on welfare. He admired a social worker assigned to the case--a worker who also motivated him to think of going to college. It appeared that for this counselor, the critical factors were (1) having been on welfare, (2) lack of a father, (3) being inspired by a social worker, and (4) college aspirations. There is no way of knowing (at this time) which of these elements were most important. But any client failing to measure up on all four counts would be significantly unlike the counselor. We then elected the shortest session with this counselor observed and examined the biography of the client and the interaction between the two. The session lasted 12 minutes. Excerpts from the protocol follow.

The client was a young, black male, referred through the Crime-Prevention Program. The counselor began by obtaining the usual background information from the client, His father was a bricklayer. The client sat relaxed in his chair.

Counselor: "What are your interests?"

Client: "Basketball."

Counselor: "On employment applications. it is best to put down something like reading. And incidentally, never leave anything blank on employment applications...I see you worked at a hospital?"

Client: "It was a summer job."

Counselor: "How did you like that job?"

Client: "It was all right."

Counselor: "What do you want to be?"

Client: "I want to take up a trade."

Counselor: "What kind?"

Client: "A mechanic."

Counselor: "T____, how do you think you did on the tests?"

Client: "I feel I did pretty good."

Counselor: "Do you think you could use help on math or reading?"

Client: "Reading, I guess."

Counselor: "I can't send you to skill training until you bring up those reading and math scores. If you want to do something with your life, you will have to do it that way. Bring up those educational skills to the necessary level. You also want to think about getting your GED, the base for your future...I'm not trying to hand you the story that just because you get your GED, carpets will roll out for you. But the GED will improve your chances. Also, you might find something interesting and go on to college...The lack of education is the main thing in your way right now...You have to pay dues. Before we can do anything, you have to want to do something for yourself.

We can only point out the obvious: this client was unlike the counselor on all four points. He was living in an intact family, his father was employed, his aspirations were focused on a manual job, and he was clearly not inspired by the counselor.

The Long Session

This session involving a different counselor, lasted 45 minutes, about twice the average. He is the same counselor who is elsewhere described as preferring to work with "manipulative kids." Other elements of his biography included a father who owned a small grocery and sold numbers when the counselor was a child. His own occupational career had not been a career in the usual sense: he had tried many things, including acting, in various parts of the country. Consistent with this experience, he derided the notion of "careers" for the agency's clients. They would learn in their own time and in their own ways what they want.

"You are short-changing a kid unless you explain to him how you are short-changing him--by making a career so one-sided. It's mainly his responsibility--this career. When you're talking about a job, you've talking about a kid and a definite potential employer, and you're trying to set them up so these two can talk directly about a particular job. When you start talking about careers, the responsibility is placed totally on the client. It's too one-sided. College kids are always coming in here looking for careers. But they change their minds sometimes when I ask them: Are you ready for this? Do you know what it requires?"

The client observed in this case was a young man who the counselor said was a pimp. He had been picked up by the police six times since moving to the city and needed a "cover job." The counselor seemed to enjoy talking with the client in street language: "You're giving me that educated rap you learned on forty and deuce (42nd Street)." The client was up late the night before and did not feel like going on a job interview that day. "That's OK," the counselor replies. "Give me a call tomorrow between 10 and 10:30."

The likeness in this case appeared to be that the client and counselor were both familiar with illegal activities, were wanderers, were street-wise and resourceful, and were not intimidated by the system.

The Qualitative Dimension of Service

The counselors at YEA did not respond to all clients in the same way and with equal feeling. Some clients were obviously more "likeable" to a particular counselor. This, of course, would be expected in everyday life.

in a human-service occupation. However, where there is a high degree of dedication to the clientele--such responses were not so expected. Yet they were in evidence during the observations of the counselors, and elsewhere in the agency. Besides spending more time with some clients, the counselors seemed to experience a different quality of relationship with certain ones (usually but not always the same ones they spent more time with). One counselor, a white male, worked for several years with a black client, placing him on one job after another as he lost the previous one--all the while, taking him fishing, to sports events and even taking him home for dinner occasionally. It was tempting to think of this as a fatherly or brotherly relationship. But we need not label it to see that it had a special quality about it, and to guess that it was highly gratifying for the counselor.

Confronted by these observations, we sought to understand what was plainly visible rather than measuring the qualitatively different relationships in some way.

We have suggested thus far that the counselors at YEA were altruistic in their orientation to the clientele (with some being more altruistic than others), and shown that the counselors spent more time with certain clients.

One counselor observed:

"Some kids come in and I can spend five minutes talking to a kid, and the kid is satisfied that I've done my job. And another kid can come in. I can spend an hour and a half--and it will take that long for both to be satisfied."

This is a task-oriented explanation: time

is allocated according to the problem at hand (and in this case, the client's sense of accomplishment). There is no need to question this as a factor, although as we noted earlier, the time spent with clients was not clearly and consistently related to problem difficulty. The same counselor went on to say, however, that despite the pressures to see as many clients as possible, the counselors could and did make time for certain clients as well as certain problems.

"The time can be made. I've made the time. Anybody can make the time. People around here say 'Well, we don't have the time for it.' But people do have time for certain people and problems."

We hope now to provide some better insight into why this was so. To do this, it will be helpful to first obtain a sense of meaning of the work to the counselors.

One counselor, a white female, was asked what she would miss the most about the job if she left it. She replied:

"The clients mostly. The new people coming in--it's quite an adventure, meeting new people, having the time to talk, etc. And then you'd miss the ones you're already working with, whether they're working on jobs or you're working on placing them. But the client is the main thing. There's an incredible feeling of accomplishment for me when something works."

The counselor cited a case where she had problems getting a Black client placed. She had to do some "special solicitation" for him--calling a number of employers to find a job for the one client.

"Finally he got the job. I was walking home after work and I discovered I was feeling very elated. For a second I couldn't think why. Then all of a sudden I zeroed in, I realized that I was ecstatic for Ted, the client. And when that happens, it's really powerful"

The counselors were also asked how they happened to get into counseling. Their responses are summarized below.

Counselor A (Black male) said that he became a counselor by "accident." He had worked as a computer operator and programmer, employed by a non-profit organization. Then he had a summer job with a large oil company. The job involved staging variety shows in various low-income areas of Center City. "We looked for talent in the communities," the counselor reported. "I enjoyed doing that, working with kids."

Counselor B (Black male) cited his experience as a camper as a youth. He "admired the counselors" and liked the idea of helping people. He later worked for a Mission Society, working with a youth marching band after school hours. Subsequent to that he was on the full-time staff of the Mission Society. Later, he worked in "counseling and group work" for a large anti-poverty organization. This was followed by a position in a federally-funded "industrial education" program. "I started at the age of eight dealing with people...it helped me through school by helping others with their school work...There is a feeling within me that wants to see an individual getting on his feet...Counseling is not just a job."

Counselor D (White male) said "I originally wanted to be a School Psychologist. But I had a lack of guidance in school. I did not

take certain courses required for a School Psychologist degree...But I wanted to work with people on a one-to-one basis. Vocational Counseling was the only course I could get into without going back too far. It was not my first choice. But I can save a lot of kids from making the same mistakes I made."

Counselor E (Puerto Rican male) worked as a salesman for a time, before going to work for a Puerto Rican anti-poverty organization. He reported that he used to make "informal placements" while employed as a salesman, and developed an interest in the work. "Many of my friends were in the placement profession." There was "an element of chance combined with interest" connected with his entry into counseling, he said. Later in the interview, the counselor expressed a "deep feeling" of satisfaction he gains from helping others. He said his father used to help others often. "He got kicked in the ass a lot, but he still helped people. I guess this was inculcated in me."

Counselor J (Puerto Rican male), whom we have earlier referred to recalled: "Years ago when I was growing up, there were a lot of people who helped me. If it hadn't been for those people helping me, I wouldn't be where I am--reciprocating what was given to me. The first time I was influenced was years ago. I was on welfare. And one of the turning points in my life was visiting a welfare office for the first time just listening to a person -his name was Bob, that was handling my particular case (I was under my mother's welfare thing). Just listening to him and in terms of what he was able to do - (he) gave me an idea of what I wanted to do. In other words, that's what started me." The welfare worker, he said, motivated him to think of going to college - "it became a very important thing in my life" and to want to "get off welfare."

However the evidence suggests that the

work is most gratifying only when working with certain clients. The clients themselves are a variable; they are not of a uniform quality.

The particular variables involved in "likeness" may be numerous. In some cases the perceived likenesses may be so numerous that the image of the client resembles the counselor's self-image. For example, one male counselor in the YEA study reported that his relationship with some clients was "like looking into a mirror and seeing yourself...You can see a large portion of yourself in them, and in some sense it brings you closer to yourself." In other cases, the likenesses reported were more specific: a female counselor reported that she sometimes had to "steal" jobs from other counselors so that she could place selected clients who were both desperate for a job and motivated to work:

"I've had to literally steal jobs from other counselors. People will say 'I'm not giving you this job if you're going to send so-and-so.' But there are times you have no choice--if the person is desperate and...still calling you for work."

One of the reasons that the satisfaction of placing a client on a job was so "powerful" was that she had been unemployed herself:

"It's just as if you had done it yourself. Just as if you had gone out and gotten the job. I've been through unemployment myself, had very hard times, and I know that feeling when you've had a good interview, or especially when you've been hired."

Still another counselor, a Black male, was asked what are some important qualities for a counselor to have. "You gotta like people; all kinds," he said. When asked if he ever

got any clients he did not like, he replied:

"Yea, yeah. But then a counselor has to realize there are people he can't like and there are people he can't work with. I find I can't work with subtle kids. Sometimes they have both drives. I find the manipulative kids have a goal, and if it's necessary to manipulate a bunch of bureaucrats to attain the goal, they go out and do it."

This counselor seemed to respond most to clients who were realistic, practical, and streetwise--a description in accord with statements made about himself, and consistent with his own background.

There is a narcissistic quality to all these accounts, if the interpretation here is correct. The objects of altruism may be loved because they are reflected images of oneself--either whole or fragmented, but significant reflections. We might note that the perceived resemblances were not based on social class per se: the clients were clients because of their lower-class status, but not all counselors were lower class in origin (using fathers' occupation as an indicator), and those who were did not respond in the same way to all the clients. The occupations of the counselors' fathers are shown below in Table 2. The counselors shown here include all those who were interviewed earlier in the research, plus a sample of those added to the staff later. The later interviews were limited by the investigator's other commitments and to some extent by the availability of individual counselors at the time. It was thought desirable, however, to obtain a sample of counselors from all programs, and this was done.

TABLE 2
SEX, ETHNIC BACKGROUND, AND LEVEL OF ALTRUISM
OF YEA'S COUNSELORS, BY FATHER'S OCCUPATION

COUN- SELOR	SEX	ETHNIC GROUP	FATHERS OCCUPATION	LEVEL OF ALTRUISM
WELFARE				
J	Male	Puerto Rican	Lived with mother on welfare	High
UNSKILLED AND SEMI-SKILLED LABOR				
A	Male	Black	Railroad Laborer	Medium
E	Male	Puerto Rican	Machine operator (factory)	Medium
SKILLED LABOR				
B	Male	Black	Mechanic	High
D	Male	White	Barber	High
WHITE-COLLAR				
C	Female	Black	Clerical (municipal transit system)	Low
OWNERS				
G	Male	Black	Grocery Store owner "numbers"	High
F	Female	White	Furniture store owner	High

Discussion

The study of altruism is usually based on a version of "universal benevolence." That is, altruists are indiscriminating with respect to the beneficiaries. Altruism, like justice, is blind. Titmuss's (1971) study of blood donors illustrates that in the clearest way, granting that the anonymity of the blood business makes discrimination and preferences difficult if not impossible.

However, there seems to be a principle of "likeness" implied in Sorokin's work, referred to earlier. In some cases, affiliation or membership may lead to a perceived likeness: e.g., clan, occupation, nation. In other cases, perceived likeness leads to affiliation: e.g., friends, possibly religion, and political groups.

Dailey's (1933) study of social workers (referred to earlier) has a similar perspective.

"A positive response to the androgynous client does not seem at all unexpected or unusual...Social workers may see in such clients the qualities they are attempting develop and internalize for themselves and thus may value such expression in clients...A second possible explanation is suggested by the large proportion of androgynous social workers found in this sample. Social workers may be more comfortable dealing with clients who more clearly resemble themselves..."

Freud, in Civilization and its Discontents (1961), makes no reference to the role of likeness in altruism. All love is, for him, libidinal in nature. Altruism was merely one of the forms of sublimated or aim-inhibited

love induced by cultural constraints. Altruists "make themselves independent of their object's acquiescence by displacing what they mainly value from being loved on to loving." They avoid the "uncertainties and disappointments of genital love" by directing their love "not to single objects but to all men alike" and by transforming the sexual instinct into "an impulse with an inhibited aim." Elsewhere, Freud (1959) describes how even romantic love involves subjects taking the place of the original incestuous object. These substitute objects, whether in genital or altruistic love, are treated in an undifferentiated way: that is, it makes no difference whether the objects are like or unlike the subject. However, altruistic love in its highest form, as a "universal love of mankind" does not appear to rank as high in Freud's (1961) estimate as does genital love because it does not discriminate among its objects and thus forfeits a part of its value "by doing an injustice to its object" and because "not all men are worthy of love." The implication that we cannot love well or intensely when we love many is consistent with Sorokin's thesis that the intensity and duration of love varies with the extensity of love.

We may say that, using Sorokin's terms, what distinguishes genital or romantic love from altruistic love are the factors of extensity and purity. By definition, genital love is aimed at one object whereas altruism may be aimed at many. And although Freud (1961) speaks of the melting of the boundary between ego and object when one is in love, where "I and you" are one, it seems clear that the end desired is direct gratification for oneself. Purity of love, to Sorokin, refers to what one hopes to obtain from the altruistic act; the act is of the highest purity if one aims to obtain nothing from the other. There may be egoistic gratifications such as self-esteem but these gratifications do not appear to

represent the full measure of altruism.

In the study of YEA's counselors, there seemed to be in some counselors some deeper impulse, more akin in that respect to the genital impulse discussed by Freud. One counselor, for example, spoke of the necessity of not merely "liking what you are doing, but loving what you are doing" because of the problems inherent in the work. He continued to say that "The satisfaction of one kid calling back, ecstatic that he got a job" is sufficient to do the work and to make the failure to succeed in placing other clients on jobs tolerable.

Thus, it appears that genital and altruistic love differ with respect to extensity and purity, and that they may, in some cases, be similar with respect to intensity. In addition, both may depend upon a perceived likeness of some kind between subject and object.

The sociobiological perspective on altruism emphasizing genetic factors may be accepted as defining "genetic fields" within which there are other forces at work, manifesting themselves (in the human species, at least) as variable degrees of intensity, purity, etc. of altruism. We are more likely to be altruistic toward other humans than toward locusts, for example. The genetic argument was not completely satisfactory in its explanatory power, however. To take just one example, black counselors did not show a high level of empathy and concern for all black clients.

The sociobiological approach does, however, recall the work of Franklin Giddings (1907). for whom consciousness of kind was "the principal cause of social conduct." Consciousness of kind was defined as "a state of consciousness in which any being, whether low or high in the scale of life, recognizes an-

other conscious being as of like kind with itself."

"In its widest extension the consciousness of kind marks off the animate from the inanimate. Within the wide class of the animate it next marks off species and races. Within racial lines the consciousness of kind underlies the more definite ethnical and political groupings; it is the basis of class distinctions, of innumerable forms of alliance, of rules of intercourse, and of peculiarities of policy. Our conduct towards those whom we feel to be most like ourselves is instinctively and rationally different from our conduct towards others, whom we believe to be less like ourselves."

Consciousness of kind was not merely a biological fact, he argued:

"Differences and likenesses of kind are legitimately facts of biology, but a consciousness of difference or of likeness must be called a fact of psychology or a fact of sociology."

The difference between these latter two sciences was that "a consciousness of difference between the self and the non-self" was a psychological phenomenon, while a "sympathetic consciousness of resemblance between the self and the non-self" was both a "fact" of psychology and a "datum" of sociology.

"In other words, the apprehension by the self of its own image in the not-self seems to me to be the natural point of departure of sociology from psychology."

The consciousness of kind involved both

perception and feeling:

"To deny that there is a reality corresponding to this conception is to deny such tremendous social facts as race hatreds and class prejudices."

However, this consciousness was neither fixed nor were the grounds of resemblance easily identified.

"The trouble is that the consciousness is an ever-changing state of mind. It is not to be once and for all identified with the consciousness of species, or of race, or of class, or of similarity of moral nature, although at any given moment it may, in fact, be identical with any one of these....An artistic temperament, for example, may be strongly attracted by like temperaments in another nation, or even race, than its own. A philanthropic enthusiast may be more strongly drawn to kindred natures among the destitute, than to acquaintances of his own social rank."

We are in no position to make the same sweeping claims for this as Giddings did, although it is obvious that we have attached some importance to it. While it is beyond the scope of this paper, we might even venture to guess that likeness is both an important factor in the formation of "self" and "community" and in generating conflict. To a great extent, we are formed by those who seek to make us move like them, even beyond the family setting. Our self is created in sensing who we are as a result and then seeking others who resemble us. We enter larger arenas, such as work, of necessity, "minding our manners" as required, but never at home there. In certain ways, we are like many others, while in other

ways we are like fewer others. Those ways in which we are like many may be the grounds of "nationalism" and other larger identities. Those ways in which we are like fewer others may be the basis of groupings, a setting within which we mentally construct the rest of the world. However, we must restrict ourselves to the observation that among the counselors at YEA the resemblances could be either biological (race), psychological (personality), or sociological in nature--i.e., socially structured experiences such as unemployment.

Conclusions

We have attempted to show that a factor of "likeness" between subject and object may be important in understanding differential services in counseling and altruistic relationships in general. Despite the two different orientations discussed above--the professional one in psychotherapy and medicine and what we shall here call the altruistic orientation that seemed typical of YEA's vocational counselors--it appears that underlying the differential service in both psychotherapy and vocational counseling may be the common principle of likeness. That is, differential service may be based on the degree of likeness perceived by therapist-counselor, between himself and the patient-client, a degree of likeness that suggests narcissism. The likeness may reflect similar life experiences--including those associated with social class position, ethnic group membership, and sex--as well as personality traits.

Overall, the findings suggest that altruistic behavior may be seen in terms of a variable intensity which is, in turn, related to the existence of greater or lesser degrees of likeness between the altruist and beneficiary--in this case, counselor and client. Altruism may differ from libidinal love with respect to its "purity" or anticipated reward,

however, as likeness increases, altruism appears to resemble libidinal love in its intensity. If this should be so, we need to know more about the varied ways in which likeness is perceived.

Differential services follow the same path. That is, the better services are provided to those reflections of oneself--at least up to a point. We also noted that altruism may have as its aim the transformation or improvement of the object, or acceptance of the object "as is," and proposed that the latter represented a greater "purity" of altruism in that not even a change in the object is required for gratification. It may be that at this point, the "adequacy" or effectiveness of altruism becomes salient and the question of technique must be considered. From this perspective, there is no intent to provide better service, only an inclination to do so. Furthermore, whether a qualitatively or quantitatively better service is actually provided is problematic, although it is assumed that the inclination would call forth the best service the particular therapist or counselor could provide, as measured by his/her own criteria of service.

Nietzsche (1886) claimed that "every elevation of...man has hitherto been the work of an aristocratic society." The "distance" between classes induces some at the top to seek the "formation of ever higher, rarer, further, more extended, more comprehensive states" of culture and the "continued 'self-surmounting of man'." Philanthropy, broadly defined as assistance to less fortunate beings, is said to be associated with a "long scale of gradations of rank and differences of worth among human beings." The founder of YEA, still actively involved in the agency, is from a well-do-do and socially prominent family. The ideological identification with the clientele in general that we may attribute to

the founder was found among the counselors also. However, the counselors identified more closely with those clients who resembled themselves. Here, it is suggested that the altruism involved may be associated with "closeness" and "likeness" rather than the "distance" and "differences" proposed by Nietzsche as the basis of philanthropy. Closeness, as used here, refers to concrete interaction and relationships, whereas distance is used to describe abstract relationships.

One of the implications of these findings for the counseling profession is that the degree of likeness existing between counselor and client acts as a regulator on the services provided. Another, however, is that likeness based on life experience and personality may transcend likeness based on ethnic identity; i.e. the "indigenous" counselor does not necessarily possess greater empathy and concern for clients.

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